

THE PATH OF A RENEGADE

why Earl Browder
was expelled from the
Communist Party

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by ROBERT THOMPSON

NOTE

This pamphlet contains the text of the report of Robert Thompson, member of the National Secretariat of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and Chairman of its New York State Committee, to the meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held in New York, February 12-15, 1946.

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Why Earl Browder Was Expelled from the
Communist Party

By ROBERT THOMPSON

THIS National Committee meeting has before it statements from the National Board, and from numerous lower Party organizations, calling for the expulsion of Earl Browder. These statements represent a demand from the ranks of our Party that the struggle against Browder be raised to a new level; be raised to the level of ridding our Party organizationally of the bourgeois class viewpoint and poison that he represents.

This is not a small or unimportant question. It means changing in a major way the nature and the conditions of the fight against Browderism. It means developing, in a new way, on a new level, the fight to fully transform our Party from an arena of struggle between Marxism and Browderism, into a unified, Marxist Party of struggle against all manifestations of Browderism in the labor movement.

The Browder we are fighting today is not just the Browder of a year ago, or even of six months ago. Browder's path since the July National Convention which reconstituted our Party, has been the path of a renegade. It is a path which has led in this period from refusal to accept Party policy to active struggle against this policy; from contempt for our Party, its decisions and its leadership, to factional activity aimed at splitting our Party; from refusal to defend our Party against attacks by the class enemy to participation on the side of the class

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enemy in these attacks; from bourgeois-liberal apologetics for the wartime anti-Axis section of the American bourgeoisie to aggressive championing of the postwar drive for imperialist world domination by American monopoly capital.

The fight against Browder has become a fight against a renegade, against a class enemy. It is the task of this National Committee meeting to arm our Party for this new stage of the struggle against Browder, and against right opportunist tendencies within our Party of compromise with Browderism.

Stages in the Struggle Against Browderism

In the period since December, 1943, in the period since the revisionist theoretical outlook of Browder took on fully developed and rounded out form, our Communist movement has passed through three main stages in its struggle to rid itself of this poisonous form of influence of the class enemy.

The first of these stages runs roughly from December, 1943, to the closing days of the war against Germany in the spring of 1945. This is the period in which the major and decisive role of the Soviet Union in the crushing of Hitler Germany found fullest expression in the relations of the major powers, in the diplomatic and military agreements of Moscow, Teheran and Yalta. This is the period when all phases of wartime cooperation between labor on the one hand, and management and government on the other, was at its height. These and other features of the international and national situation, in this period, formed the basis for, and gave rise to, certain illusions among the workers and masses of people regarding the future of relations between the capitalist and socialist systems; regarding the inherently reactionary class character of monopoly capital and its role and objectives in relation to imperialist expansion, imperialist super-profits, and exploitation of the working class and people; regarding the class nature and limitations of capitalist democracy and the class role of the bourgeois-democratic state; regarding the class character and monopoly base of fascism, as well as other basic matters. These illusions represented the ideological influence of the bour-

geoisie, and especially of its anti-Axis section, among the masses of the people.

It was the task of our Party, among other things, to conduct a struggle against such illusions. We did not conduct such a struggle. As a result, these illusions penetrated the ranks of our Party, ran rampant in our Party. They formed the atmosphere which made it possible for right opportunism, in the form of Browder's theories and leadership, to take over our Party in this period, lock, stock and barrel.

What does the so-called "theoretical" outlook developed by Browder in this period amount to? In substantial part, it amounts to just this: the taking of certain major illusions fostered among the masses by the bourgeoisie on the basis of wartime events and the generalization of these illusions into a more or less systematic scheme of ideas.

In Browder's hands certain illusions which should have been no more than an unimportant by-product of the vitally important diplomatic accord of Teheran, were generalized into a full-blown theory that "the books have been closed" on anti-Soviet conspiracies by the capitalist world.

Certain illusions fostered by limited wartime gains of the Negro people in the fields of employment and civil and political rights became in the hands of Browder a "theoretical" generalization to the effect that the era of national oppression of the Negro people was ended, became a "theoretical" denial of the fact that the Negro question in the United States is in essence a national question.

In Browder's hands, illusions bred of the fact that for a decisive moment of world history the imperialist interests of American monopoly capital had a point of contact with the aspirations of the masses in the sense that these imperialist interests also required the waging of a military struggle against the Axis powers, became a veritable fount for "theoretical" generalizations.

From these illusions, stemming from the wartime role of American monopoly capital, Browder manufactured what was and remains his "theoretical" masterpiece. This masterpiece is his theory about the long-term inherently progressive nature

of the class interests of American monopoly capital, and the elaboration of this "theory" with respect to the raising of the living standards of the American people, the overcoming of war destruction and destitution in Europe and the industrialization of colonial and undeveloped countries. Connected with this masterpiece, of course, is his theory that the capitalist class has the inherent capacity, if only it can be brought to see its true class interests, of leading the nation in the direction of social progress and that therefore the role of the working class, and of Communists in the working class, is limited in the main to pointing out to the capitalists their supposed class interest and to supporting the "intelligent" as against the "un-intelligent" sections of the bourgeoisie.

All of Browder's "theoretical" labors, or more properly speaking, all of his generalizations of current illusions in this period, focused on one objective: the subordination of the interests of the working class to the interests of the capitalist class, through the curbing and limiting of the independent role of the working class, the elimination of our Party as the Marxist Party of the working class, the abandoning of the historical goal of the working class, the socialist reorganization of society. The essence of Browderism is to be found in the fact that his theories coincide on all major points with both the immediate and long-term needs of American monopoly capital.

One other feature of Browder's "theoretical" work in this period is worth noting, for it has bearings on his most recent labors. It is the fact that during this period, Browder made careful and extensive use of Marxist phraseology. He spared no pains to present his abandonment of socialism as "creative Marxism," his abandonment of Lenin's teachings on imperialism and his scrapping of our Party as an independent Party of the working class as "up-to-date Leninism."

What form did the struggle in our ranks against right opportunism and specifically against Browder's revisionism, take in this period, lasting roughly from December, 1943, to V-E Day? In the main, it took two forms.

The Role of Foster

The main and the decisive form of the struggle against right opportunism in this period consisted in the challenging by Comrade Foster of the whole structure and essence of Browder's revisionist "theories" and by his opposition to all main aspects of the policies flowing from them. Alone in the national leadership of our Party, and with only varying degrees of support from isolated individuals throughout our Party, Comrade Foster kept the banner of Marxist thought in America flying.

We have yet to fully appreciate in our Party the service Comrade Foster performed for our Party and the working class by his stand and role in this period. It is true that Foster did not, and could not, stem the current of opportunism in our Party in this period. It is equally true, however, that Foster's fight against this opportunist current more than any other factor, did keep Marxist thought alive in the ranks of our Party; did succeed in contributing in a major way to the positive aspects of our work during the war; did retard and curb the fullest and most harmful unfolding of Browder's opportunist theories and policies; did serve as the beacon, the point of orientation, which eventually enabled the forces in our Party moving in the direction of struggle against Browder, to regroup and re-orient.

The other form of resistance to Browderism in this period was far less decisive, although nevertheless important. This consisted in the opposition, more or less consistent, of a relatively wide strata of comrades to some of the crassest expressions of Browderism, particularly in the field of tactics. The characteristic feature of this opposition was that it never challenged any of the fundamental propositions of Browder's theoretical outlook or basic policies. Nevertheless, this form of opposition, milk toast that it was, was generally positive in its effects in that it hampered somewhat the unfolding of opportunism and helped to keep alive a healthy base for the resurgence of Marxist thought in our Party. Without resistance of this character in the ranks of our Party, especially on the

part of Party trade unionists, it would not have been possible for our Party to perform the decisive wartime services that it did on such questions as the second front, the 1944 elections, war production, etc.

All Communist Parties have had to struggle against right opportunist elements and currents in their ranks. All Parties have been influenced at one time or another, and to one degree or another, by such elements. I don't know, however, of another Party in which right opportunism, in the crass form in which it is represented by the revisionist policies of Browder, has ever achieved the degree of dominance that it achieved in our Party during this period.

Browder and his policies were able to rule in our Party during this period because our Party operates in a country in which there exists the most powerful, and one of the most clever, capitalist classes in the world. Browders come and go, but the influence and pressure of this class is constant. If there is one lesson from this period that must burn itself into the minds of our Party and its leaders, it is that our Party can guard itself from similar and even more disastrous periods, only by daily and hourly vigilance and fight against the pressure and influence of alien class forces, whether this takes the form of right opportunism or left sectarianism. This lesson should certainly not be lost on those of us in this room, for the thinking of most of us was shaped in the main only a few short months ago by this class influence.

Browder and his policies were able to rule in our Party during this period, in the last analysis, because our Party and especially its leading cadres, have an inadequate mastery of the science of Marxism-Leninism. More specifically, how did this express itself during this period? It expressed itself in the loss of all historical perspective with regard to the basic character of class forces in present-day society, and especially with respect to the historic role and objectives of the working class. In short, it expressed itself along the lines of Lenin's definition of the classical form of opportunism in the labor movement.

The political essence of social-chauvinism and opportunism is the same. It expresses itself in class collaboration, repudiation of proletarian dictatorship, rejection of revolutionary action, obeisance to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois legality, lack of confidence in the proletariat, confidence in the bourgeoisie.

The second stage of the struggle against Browderism runs roughly from the closing days of the war against Germany through the National and State Conventions of our Party in July and August. This is the period when many of the widespread illusions generated during earlier stages of the war and generalized into a theoretical outlook by Browder, began to be undermined by the hard facts of life; by the developing of strains and clashes in international and class relations which forecast some of the main features of the postwar world.

It was early in this period that, in addition to and stimulated by the consistent and systematic struggle of Comrade Foster, the opposition to Browder began to take on a new scope and character in our Party and its leadership. There began to develop a questioning of basic propositions in his theoretical outlook and wider degree of opposition to certain of his policies. It was in this situation that our Party received a theoretical shot in the arm in the form of the Duclos article, which gave to our Party the benefit of our French comrades' thinking on certain questions of Marxist policy in the United States having world-wide significance. This invaluable assistance from our French comrades helped to bring into action, and basically re-orient, the main forces of our Party.

In this period the issue was struggle for the essentials of a correct Marxist policy within the ranks of our Party, within the framework of Communist procedure and discipline. It was a struggle against an element, however dangerously opportunistic, however crassly revisionist, who nevertheless, represented a force, a trend, within our own Party. The task in this period was to isolate and shatter the influence of Browder; to simultaneously guard against enemy agents, unprincipled factionalists, and petty bourgeois left sectarian tendencies; to overcome the effects of years of bureaucratic methods.

of work and leadership by bringing into the fullest and freest discussion of all aspects of Party policy and leadership a maximum section of the Party membership; to hammer out an essentially sound Marxist-Leninist estimate of class forces and a main line of policy; to reconstitute our Communist Party with as substantial a strengthening of the composition of its leading committees as available forces permitted.

As we all know, these tasks were substantially achieved.

Four features of Browder's conduct and tactics during this period are deserving of special note.

The first of these features is Browder's extreme personal arrogance and, as a part of this, his contempt for our Party, its basic interests, its collective will, its discipline and its leadership. Not one single word of self-criticism or admission of error was made by Browder in this whole period. At no time was there a serious attempt on his part to participate in the collective re-evaluation of our Party's past work and policies. On the contrary, Browder in this critical period, after his defeat in the National Board, stayed away from the meetings of this body, on the pretext of taking a summer vacation.

The second such feature is Browder's lack of concern for certain basic interests of our Party. Two examples will illustrate this: First, very early in this period, Browder developed the tactic of attempting to direct opposition to his policies into the channel of petty bourgeois radicalism and left sectarianism. Browder attempted to paint the picture that effective opposition to his policies meant opposition to Big Three unity, abandonment of the fight to influence administration policy, scrapping of the struggle for jobs and for social security, and so on down the line. Secondly, in utter disregard of established facts and of Party welfare, Browder fostered in his general conduct and especially in his remarks to our National Convention, the Hearstian fiction that there exists somewhere, some international Communist tribunal that determines policy for our Party, that our Party is not a fully independent Party of the American working class.

The third such feature is Browder's effort during the period of pre-Convention discussion to smuggle into the National

Board's draft of the pre-Convention Resolution the essence of his opportunist theories under guise of compromise with the position of the Board. This took the form of willingness to accept all the main points in this resolution if only his concept of the possibility, under capitalist conditions, of the expansion of the foreign and domestic market to the level of productive capacity, should be included. What did the acceptance of Browder's concept, which he still holds, of the possibility of such peacetime expansion of the market under capitalism, involve? It involves the possibility of a solution, under capitalism, of the basic contradictions of the capitalist system of production, the contradiction between the social character and the private ownership of industry. It involves the possibility of eliminating economic cycles and crises under capitalism. It involves the essence of Browder's anti-Marxist muddle of theoretical confusion.

Naturally, the National Board rejected Browder's proposal and tactic of compromise. Yet the proposal had and still has a basic meaning and importance; it served to illustrate and highlight the tactic of compromise with Browderism, of conciliation of Browderism, the tactic of yielding in appearance and on unessentials to existing relationships of forces in our Party in order to retain and perpetuate the essential elements of Browder's revisionism. It brought to the fore the general and basic problem of the fight against tendencies of compromise with Browder's revisionism in the ranks of our Party.

The fourth such feature is the development by Browder, particularly in the later stages of this period around the National Convention, of the tactic of double-dealing, of formal pledges of acceptance of Party policy and decisions, unaccompanied by any re-evaluation of his political line, and unaccompanied by any halt to the propagation of this anti-Marxist, anti-Party line. This tactic of deceit, of double-dealing, had the objective of permitting Browder to remain in the Party, in order to develop a base and a struggle from within our Party against the decisions and line of our National Convention.

The third stage of the struggle against Browderism is the period between our National Convention and this meeting of

our National Committee. In this period the validity of Marxism-Leninism as the only true science of social development, and with this the soundness of the essential features of our National Convention's main decisions and policies, have received striking confirmation. The full immensity and significance of the contrast between the capitalist and socialist systems, the vast superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system both in war and in peace, is beginning to sink home in a new way among the workers and the masses of the people. The reactionary course of American imperialism, and the Truman Administration, in foreign affairs, together with the attacks of the monopolies against the labor movement and the living standards of the people, have shattered most, if not all, illusions about an era of postwar class peace and brotherly love. The working class and democratic forces have acquired a new confidence in their own strength as a result of the labor movement's effective wage and strike struggles, and the demonstrated ability of the socialist and democratic forces on a world scale to hold their own against, and beat back, the attacks of imperialist reaction.

These and other main features of the world and national situation as it has developed since our National Convention, have served to deepen understanding in our Party and the labor movement of the dangerously false and crassly opportunistic nature of Browder's revisionist theories and policies. Together with this, our Party has made progress in the seven months since our Convention in the repudiation of opportunism in deeds, has become immersed in the mass struggles of the labor movement and people, is increasingly bringing forward in its daily work the principles of Marxism-Leninism to guide the working class in its current great struggles. In this period the unity of our Party and its sympathizers around the main line of policy established at our National Convention, and further developed in this and our last National Committee meetings, has changed qualitatively, has become much more fully a fighting, active support of this main line of policy. In short, our Party is far healthier than it was seven months ago and therefore has both the will and the capacity to react on a

new and higher level to the ulcer of opportunism represented by Browder and Browderism.

Browder in this period has pursued a path which has led from refusal to accept Party policy to active struggle against this policy; from contempt for our Party, its decisions and its leadership to factional activity directed against the unity of our Party; from refusal to defend our Party from attacks by the class enemy to participation on the side of the enemy in these attacks.

The detailed characterization of Browder's path is contained in the Statement of the National Board. I quote:

"The decision of the National Board to recommend the expulsion of Browder is based on the following considerations:

"1. Earl Browder's conduct from the time of the Convention to the National Committee meeting of November. At that meeting, in the report of the National Board submitted by Comrade Eugene Dennis, Browder's conduct was thus characterized:

Unfortunately, after the Convention, Comrade Browder repudiated his pledge to the National Convention; he did not and does not accept the program or decisions of the Convention; he remains aloof from all or any Party responsibility; and, further, at the hearings of the House un-American Committee, Browder adopted an equivocal attitude, assumed the role of a 'private citizen' and failed to utilize various opportunities actively to defend the policies and the line of the Party. Browder's position compromises the Party; it acts as a millstone on the Party; it has fostered passivity, has confused and demobilized certain comrades and has impaired the unity of our Party. It is clear that Browder's persistence in this position will be incompatible with his further membership in our Party.

"2. Browder's anti-Party conduct from the National Committee meeting to date.

"In the space of these three months Browder refused to heed the repeated warnings of the National Board and National Committee. Instead he has passed over from being a passive

oppositionist to an active opponent of the Party. This is evident, among other things, by the following facts:

"(a) After the National Committee meeting in November, 1945, and without the Party's approval, Browder embarked on a "business" undertaking, the publication of *Distributors Guide*. This is an organ of expression in which he acts as an advisor to Big Business, along a political line that coincides with the interests of the employers and of American imperialism. In this publication, Browder presents a political platform in which he has developed his revisionism of Marxism to an open defense of American imperialism and unrestrained support for the entire policy of the Truman Administration, including its imperialist course in foreign affairs.

Through this publication, which is a weapon of struggle with which he opposes and attacks the political line of the Party, Browder is working to establish contact, not only with various members of the Party and with trade union leaders in this country, but also with leaders of brother Parties in this hemisphere.

"(b) During the past two weeks it has been called to the attention of the National Board that Browder has further violated Party principles and discipline. He has endeavored to broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers of the Party; and in these conversations Browder arrogantly defends his anti-Marxist position and views, attacks the political line and decisions of the Party, slanders Comrade Foster and the entire national leadership, and attempts to involve certain comrades in his anti-Party conspiracy.

"(c) Browder refused to meet with the National Secretariat on January 29 to answer questions of fact relevant to the above. However, he did meet subsequently with the executive committee of the Yonkers Communist Club and submitted a letter addressed to all members of the Communist Party. In this letter he again slanders and misrepresents the line and actions of the Party and advances a new document as a basis for waging a factional struggle within the Party.

"(d) Further, at a meeting of the National Board on February 4, where Browder was given a hearing to reply to the

specific charges preferred against him for his expulsion, Browder cynically refused to reply to the charges or to answer any questions. He challenged the authority of the Board to ask him oral questions. Indifferent to his membership in the Party, and confronted with concrete evidence of his disloyalty to the Party, of his violation of Party principles and discipline—Browder resorted to the cheap trick of a pettifogging lawyer. He tried to stall for time and stated that he would only reply to questions which were submitted to him in writing and after he had extended time to prepare a written document that obviously would be used to serve his factional and anti-Party purposes. Browder did not have the forthrightness and honesty to answer the questions concerning irrefutable and damaging facts which were directed to him.

"For these and related acts detrimental to the interests and welfare of the Party, Browder has placed himself outside the ranks of the Communist Party and the working class movement. He has forsaken the right to belong to the Party and must be expelled forthwith."

One feature of Browder's current factional activities deserves a few special remarks. In the same manner as in an earlier period Browder betrayed Socialism in the name of Marx, and liquidated our Party in the name of Lenin, he has in this period attempted to organize factional struggles against our Party's policies and leadership in the name of our July National Convention.

In his infamous factional letter addressed to "The Yonkers Club and All Members of the Communist Party," Browder proclaims that "our Party leadership has forgotten, shelved, or revised the absolutely correct central decisions of our July Plenum." He further charges that "Foster has led the Communist Party out of the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition in violation of the July Convention decisions." And then Browder adds, "It has been my hope, as I witnessed the step-by-step abandonment of the July Convention's political directives by our Party leadership, that other voices than mine would be raised to call the Party back to its true path as de-

terminated by its Convention. . . . But since time is growing late, even dangerously late, and no such voices are raised, my conscience will not permit me longer to remain silent." Our Party has had some little experience with Browder's unprincipledness, and therefore it comes as no surprise that this man who fought tooth and nail against our July Convention's resolution on policy, and still fights against it, nevertheless simultaneously attempts to clasp it to his bosom, distort it, and utilize it as a factional weapon. Our Party has had some little experience with Browder's personal arrogance, and therefore it comes as no surprise that this man, so overwhelmingly repudiated by the membership of our Party, now proclaims for himself the authority to instruct our Party as to how it is to interpret and apply Party policy, and further, proclaims that the National Committee of our Party, elected by our Party, does not have the authority to interpret, develop, and apply Party policy.

The point worthy of comment in Browder's position, the crux of his whole position is his opposition to the trend towards the development of independent political action on the part of the working class and its allies.

In this "Letter to all Party Members," Browder bemoans the fact that "Foster has called for such conduct of the 1946 Congressional election campaign as to *begin to lay the basis for an eventual third party progressive movement.*" What Browder bemoans, our Party and the workers and progressive applaud.

It is understandable that our Party should wholeheartedly agree with Foster on this matter, for he is expressing our Party's policy.

In a general way our National Convention Resolution stated this policy in the following manner:

It is essential to weld together and consolidate the broadest coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces as well as all other supporters of Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies.

This policy was further developed, rounded out, and concretized at our last National Committee meeting in the report of Comrade Dennis:

It is necessary from now on to create the conditions and base for organizing a major third party nationally, a democratic people's party, an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly party—with a mass trade union base and under labor's political influence. Likewise, this is the way to facilitate the establishment of a government, representative of and based on the true democratic forces, and which will carry out a progressive policy.

In projecting this perspective and working toward it, it is necessary to guard against several dangers. For one thing, labor and the progressives must avoid any premature organizational steps. The majority of the labor and progressive movement still has to be convinced and won over for a third party. Therefore, in bringing forward the question of a third party, of a democratic people's party, and in enlisting support for such a move, it is essential that the advocates of a third party do not weaken their co-operative relationship with those anti-fascists who do not yet favor a third party.

It is understandable that Browder should consider this policy of beginning "to lay the basis for an eventual third-party progressive movement" as the cardinal sin of sins. In Browder's eyes the rights of the capitalist class are sacred and to challenge them is criminal. And what does this policy do? Why, it challenges the right of the capitalist class to lead the working class in the political life of our country; it challenges the right of the capitalist class to run the government of this country as it sees fit; it leads in the direction of challenging the right of the capitalist class to run this country at all. It is understandable that Browder should be alarmed by such a policy.

Now, I would like to make a few comments on the appeal which all of us received this morning from Browder against the Board's recommendation for his expulsion. I don't think it needs any detailed treatment. I just want to comment on one or two points in it.

On the first point Browder raises—that the indecent haste of the proceedings for his expulsion renders the whole proposal suspect. Well, I think it is true that our Party may be in for a little criticism of the speed with which we have moved

against Browder, but it will not be from the side that Browder raises it. If our Party is to be criticized for anything, it is for allowing this alien element, this representative of the class enemy to remain too long and do too much damage to our Party while in its ranks.

Then, I would just call your attention to the central point I dealt with a couple of minutes ago, contained in the following sentence:

... The only charge that might lie against me in relation to the Convention decisions, is that I failed to speak up to criticize and oppose . . . the withdrawal from the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition and to break up the Truman Administration at a moment when it was improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy and aligning itself with labor in the biggest inner political struggle since 1944.

I think it is worthwhile to examine the thought expressed in his statement—that the Truman Administration is "improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy." This gives a real insight into the direction, the distance, and the speed with which Browder is moving.

It may be assumed that Browder is speaking here of Roosevelt's foreign policy during the decisive years of the struggle against the Axis powers. What was the decisive feature of Roosevelt's foreign policy during these years? The key and decisive feature of this policy was alliance with the Soviet Union and Big Three unity. Roosevelt lives in the hearts and minds of men because he played an important part in bringing into being this coalition of the Big Three and thereby helped to save civilization from destruction.

What has happened to this all-important feature of the Roosevelt foreign policy under Truman and the Democratic Administration since Roosevelt's death? Step by step, and with alarming rapidity, it has been all but destroyed. Sabotage of the Yalta and Potsdam decisions regarding Germany; atomic diplomacy; armed intervention on the side of reaction in China; active intervention against the rising democratic gov-

ernments and forces in Europe; supplying of planes and equipment to the head of the one remaining full-blown fascist state in the world, Franco; jailing of guerrilla fighters and aid to Japanese collaborationists in the Philippines; this is the unsavory record of the Truman Administration in foreign affairs. During the crucial years of the war, Roosevelt fought, in his own way, for unity with the Soviet Union and the other democratic forces of the world. The Truman Administration is increasingly attempting to throw the financial, economic, diplomatic, and already in certain instances, as for example in China, the military strength of the United States against these democratic forces. Browder calls this an improved "implementation" of Roosevelt's foreign policy. Actually it is nothing less than the abandonment, the betrayal, of the cardinal feature of Roosevelt's policy—alliance with the Soviet Union and Big Three unity.

What is really represented here is the assumption by Browder of the position of an energetic and active social-chauvinist and supporter right down the line of the worst aspects, and of all aspects, of the imperialist policy of our government.

It is worth noting here also that it is on the labor movement and on our Party that Browder places the responsibility for breaking up the former Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition. He completely whitewashes the basically anti-labor orientation and the specific anti-labor policies of the Truman Administration in this period, including its opening up the front for anti-labor legislation through the introduction of the fact-finding and cooling-off proposal, the abandonment of the fight for FEPC, and the other aspects of the Truman Administration's policy which directly give aid to the monopolists and hurt the labor movement and people.

Then I would call attention to that portion of his document in which, after dealing with the fact that our National Board recommendation correctly characterizes his actions as placing him outside of the working class, he says:

... This is preposterous babbling, a parrot-like repetition of the formula by which the Trotskyites were condemned in the Soviet Union after years of patient and

thorough refutation of all their views, and after they had plunged into violent sabotage, armed rebellion and conspiracy with the fascist enemy abroad.

What is the meaning of this declaration on Browder's part? I think that a part of it is that Browder is appealing to us to wait until perhaps he has conducted similar acts. I think that is his advice to us. But I think we can and must and will say that Browder has done quite enough harm already to our Party without our waiting for him to do any further harm. We are not going to wait patiently for years while he does further and even greater damage to our Party and the working class by virtue of his remaining in our ranks.

I would point out also that this whole section of his document is only one step removed from an open defense of Trotskyism both as it manifested itself in the Soviet Union and here in the United States.

Then, further in his document, Browder says, "I would be most happy to have these writings (referring to his *Distributors Guide*) examined by any intelligent group, *not under factional hysteria or control*, to confirm my characterization of them."

We must keep in mind that it is our Party that Browder is referring to, and the leadership of our Party; that he is calling it an hysterical and factional controlling leadership and Party. This is just another and a further crass expression of his whole attitude of contempt for our Party. We could say also that his implication that our Party is not an intelligent body is not something new for Browder. He has never thought the working class or our Party intelligent. Undoubtedly, Browder has in mind certain other class forces and groups in the country about whose intelligence he has for a long time had a very high opinion, such groups, perhaps, as the N.A.M. and the Chamber of Commerce.

And lastly, on this document, I would just turn your attention to a very important portion where he challenges the right of our Party to control the political activity of a member of the Party. This represents nothing more nor less than an effort

to tear down Party authority, to break up our internal Party unity and discipline. It is no less than a justification of and an attempt to encourage such irresponsible and inexcusable breaches of Party discipline and control of policies as was represented by the publication in the *New Masses* of the article containing Trotskyist concepts by Maltz.

The New Stage in the Struggle Against Browder

Browder's path since our National Convention has been the path of a renegade of the working class. Renegades belong in the gutter of history, not in the ranks of the Party whose duty it is to make history. This meeting of our National Committee has the responsibility of expelling Browder from our Party, of branding him for the renegade that he is, of raising to a new level the struggle within our Party and in the labor movement against the class ideology and policies which he represents.

The expulsion of Browder does not represent a cheap and easy way of eliminating the need for struggle on the political and ideological front against Browder's revisionism. It is not a substitution of organizational, for political and ideological weapons of struggle. It does mean the extension of the struggle against Browderism to the organizational as well as the political and ideological fronts. It does mean, and this is most important, that a new calibre of struggle on the political and ideological fronts must be achieved. It does mean that our Party must move more speedily and resolutely in all phases of Party activities, and particularly in certain fields of Party activity, and on certain theoretical questions where we have been sadly lagging, to root out strong remnants of revisionism in theory and practice.

Browder is an individual, but Browderism is an enemy class ideology and influence. The expulsion of Browder, and of any who consciously choose the side of Browder and the class enemy in the struggle against our Party, is necessary in the first place because their presence in our ranks blocks and makes impossible the rooting out of the class influence which

they represent. The expulsion of Browder will clear the road for, and facilitate, a more thoroughgoing struggle in our Party, extending into all phases of Party work, against Browderism and all right opportunist tendencies of conciliation of Browderism, as well as against petty bourgeois radicalism and "left" sectarianism. It will close the door with finality on the period in which our Party has been an arena of struggle between Browderism and Marxism. It will mark an important step forward along the road of reshaping our Party as a unified Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party of the American working class.

I want now to present the following resolution* for discussion and adoption by this meeting of our National Committee:

1. The National Committee has considered and approves the recommendation of the National Board, and the demand from the ranks of our Party organizations, that Earl Browder be expelled from the Communist Party for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy-American monopoly capital.

2. The National Committee categorically rejects the document presented today by Earl Browder, in which he appeals to the National Committee against his expulsion. Browder's appeal in itself confirms the correctness of the charges preferred against him by the Board. Moreover, Browder's appeal is nothing more or less than an anti-Marxist platform of struggle submitted by a social-imperialist who aims to wage political-ideological warfare against the Communist Party, against Marxism. Therefore, the National Committee hereby does expell Earl Browder from the Communist Party.

3. The struggle against Browder and Browderism now enters a new stage. The struggle against Browder and Browderism is

no longer a struggle against a trend in the Communist and labor movements. It is now a struggle against a deserter from Communism, against an alien ideology and influence.

The entire Party must be on guard against the factional activity which Browder is now trying to organize through such means as personal contacts, the circulation of the letter addressed to "All Party Members," and the *Distributors Guide*.

The Party must be vigilant to preserve and strengthen the unity of the Party. It must root out all vestiges of revisionism and all rotten liberal attitudes toward Browder and the conciliators of Browderism. It must wage an uncompromising political-ideological struggle against Browderism which is an enemy class ideology.

In this way our Party can and will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It will equip itself rapidly to become a mass party, and more effectively perform its vanguard role today and in the great economic and political struggles which lie ahead.

* The Resolution introduced by Robert Thompson was unanimously adopted by the 54 members of the National Committee present on February 13, 1946.

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